

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 SP-02 PM-03

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R 020850Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3701

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 25418

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, UF, FR, CSCE

SUBJECT: WORK ON GISCARD'S MOSCOW TRIP STILL JUST
BEGINNING

REF: (A) PARIS 24034; (B) PARIS 24616; (C) PARIS 25272
(NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: PREPARATIONS FOR GISCARD'S TRIP STILL
IN PRELIMINARY STAGE. NEGOTIATION ANY MEANINGFUL
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BILATERAL CSCE TEXT MAY POSE PROBLEMS, PARTLY BECAUSE

THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT. FRENCH APPROACH VISIT WITH SOBRIETY, THINK MUCH OF IT WILL FOCUS ON BILATERAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. ALTHOUGH ONLY TWO WEEKS REMAIN BEFORE GISCARD'S SOVIET TRIP, OUR MOST RECENT CONTACTS STILL SUGGEST THAT SUBSTANTIVE WORK WITH SOVIETS IS ONLY JUST BEGINNING. BOTH ROBIN, FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR AT THE ELYSEE AND TREMEAU OF QUAI'S SOVIET DESK SAY THAT NO REAL SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGES HAVE AS YET TAKEN PLACE. THEY STRESS "OFFICIAL" NATURE OF GISCARD'S TRIP; NOTE THAT ONLY ABOUT 8 HOURS OF TIME IS SET ASIDE FOR SUBSTANTIVE MEETINGS (INCLUDING TRANSLATION); AND PRIVATELY DESCRIBE VISIT AS TRIP IN SEARCH OF A FOCUS. IN SHORT, FRENCH SO FAR AT LEAST, ARE NOT EXPECTING THIS RETURN ENGAGEMENT TO BE A SUBSTANTIVELY SPECTACULAR EVENT (REFTELS), BUT RATHER A "SOBER, CONSTRUCTIVE" CONTINUATION OF NOW ESTABLISHED HIGH-LEVEL FRENCH-SOVIET RELATIONS. FOLLOWING IS REPORTED STATE OF PLAY ON SPECIFIC ISSUES:

3. PROGRAM:

QUAI SAYS THAT PURELY PROTOCOLARY ASPECTS HAVE MADE GOOD PROGRESS. VISIT WILL NOW INCLUDE A ONE DAY TRIP TO KIEV AND A VISIT TO TOLSTOY'S HOUSE AT KRASNAYA POLYANA, THE LATTER AT GISCARD'S PERSONAL REQUEST. HOWEVER, AS OF LAST WEEKEND, NO SIGNIFICANT CONTACTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE ON COMMUNIQUE.

4. CSCE:

QUAI SAYS THAT SOVIETS HAVE PROVIDED FRENCH WITH WORDY TEXT REPRESENTING MOSCOW'S MAXIMAL VIEWS OF POSSIBLE FRENCH-SOVIET STATEMENT ON CSCE. QUAI WAS NOT WILLING TO SHOW US TEXT BUT SAID THAT IT CONTAINED ALL WELL-KNOWN SOVIET VIEWS THIS SUBJECT IN PREDICTABLY EXAGGERATED TERMS, REPRESENTING SOVIET OPENING MOVE IN NEGOTIATIONS.

QUAI ITSELF (AS OF SEPT. 30) HAS STILL NOT DECIDED HOW TO APPROACH CSCE PROBLEM, I.E., WHETHER TO TRY TO NEGOTIATE

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TIATE LONG GENERAL TEXT OR TO GO FOR MORE SPECIFIC SHORTER PAPER; OR WHETHER TEXT SHOULD BE PART OF OR SEPARATE FROM COMMUNIQUE. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON HOW SOVIETS BEHAVE IN ACTUAL NEGOTIATION WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN MOSCOW. HOWEVER BOTH QUAI AND ELYSEE ARE VERY MUCH AWARE THAT THERE IS NO LONGER SUFFICIENT TIME TO ACCOMPLISH VERY MUCH. MOREOVER QUAI IS CONSCIOUS POLITICAL PITFALLS THIS EXERCISE SINCE IT EXPECTS NEGOTIATION

TIATION TO CLIMAX ALMOST INEVITABLY IN CLIFF HANGER
BEFORE SIGNING OF COMMUNIQUE IN MOSCOW.

QUAI HOWEVER VOLUNTEERED (VERY DISCREETLY) THAT
NEITHER EC-NINE, U.S. OR OTHER WESTERN PARTNERS NEED
HAVE CONCERNS THAT QUAI REPEAT QUAI WOULD AGREE TO FOR-
MULATIONS LIKELY TO UNDERCUT WEST IN THIS TEXT ON SOVIET
IMPLEMENTATION FINAL ACT. INDEED, QUAI NOW WOULD MUCH

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PREFER DROPPING ENTIRE EXERCISE IN FAVOR OF BRIEF CSCE
PARAGRAPH IN COMMUNIQUE, IF SOVIET NEGOTIATORS ARE TOO

INTRANSIGENT. ON OTHER HAND, QUAI IS AT LEAST SOMEWHAT UNSURE WHETHER, UNDER LAST MINUTE POLITICAL PRESSURE TO GET SOMETHING OUT OF TRIP, GISCARD OR HIS STAFF, WHO ARE BY NO MEANS EXPERT ON CSCE, MIGHT NOT IN END AGREE TO SOMETHING THAT IS LESS THAN DESIRABLE. QUAI PROMISED TO KEEP US INFORMED TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE (SEPTEL).

WHEN CSCE CAME UP IN CONVERSATION WITH ROBIN AT ELYSEE, WE HAD IMPRESSION THAT ROBIN WAS QUITE AWARE OF IMPORTANCE OF WORDING THIS TEXT. HE VOLUNTEERED THAT
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FRENCH WOULD BE "VERY CAREFUL" NOT TO AGREE TO ANY TROUBLESOME LANGUAGE.

5. "MILITARY DETENTE":

ALL OUR SOURCES AGREE THAT THERE IS LITTLE PROSPECT OF MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA, WHICH SOVIETS ARE EXPECTED TO PRESS HARD. WHILE THERE ARE REPORTS (COHEN'S MEMCON SEPTEMBER 25 MAILED DEPARTMENT) THAT USSR MAY HOPE TO MAKE A MAJOR TRADE WITH GISCARD, OFFERING USSR CONSENT TO A "EUROPEAN DEFENSE" ARRANGEMENT, IN RETURN FOR FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN MBFR (WITH ULTIMATE OBJECT OF GETTING U.S. OUT OF EUROPE) NO ONE WE KNOW BELIEVES THAT GISCARD WOULD BUY SUCH A DEAL. QUAI ASSUMES SOVIETS WILL OF COURSE PRESS THEIR NEW UN DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS.

6. BILATERAL ISSUES;

OUR SOURCES DO BELIEVE THAT, BESIDES TOUR D'HORIZON OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, A GOOD PART OF TIME WILL BE SPENT ON BILATERAL MATTERS, SPECIFICALLY IN TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELD. ISSUES MENTIONED SO FAR ARE:

(A) NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY: SOVIETS REPORTEDLY ARE INTERESTED IN FRENCH TECHNOLOGY BUT ARE SAID NOT TO WANT TO ACCEPT FRENCH PERSONNEL TO GO WITH IT.

(B) AVIATION: QUAI SAYS THERE HAS BEEN TALK ON SOVIET SIDE OF A JOINT FRENCH-SOVIET AIRPLANE PRODUCTION PROJECT. HOWEVER, GOF DOUBTS THIS IS FEASIBLE IDEA AND ACCORDING TO QUAI WOULD PREFER TO SELL USSR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL INSTALLATIONS.

(C) CONCORDE: GISCARD MAY RAISE CONCORDE ROUTE THROUGH MOSCOW TO FAR EAST WITH SOVIETS, A SUBJECT GOF IS OBVIOUSLY VERY INTERESTED IN.

(D) OIL DRILLING DEAL: QUAI SAYS FRENCH VERY
INTERESTED IN SELLING USSR MARINE OIL DRILLING
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EQUIPMENT, PARTICULARLY FOR EXPLORATION IN
BERENTS SEA. SOVIETS HERE TOO WANT EQUIPMENT
BUT NOT FRENCH PERSONNEL, AND ARE VAGUE
ABOUT PRODUCING OIL FROM WELLS DRILLED, OIL
FROM WHICH FRENCH WOULD PRESUMABLY GET SHARE.
MOREOVER FRENCH ARE CONCERNED RECENT SOVIET
MISSILE TESTS IN BERENTS MAY MAKE THIS AREA
OFF-LIMITS FOR SECURITY REASONS.

7. TOURISM:

FRENCH MAY ALSO TRY TO REVIVE NEGOTIATION OF TOURISM
AGREEMENT BROKEN OFF DURING OR AFTER CHIRAC VISIT.
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